

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02027 01 OF 02 071904Z
ACTION ACDA-10

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SP-02 PM-04 OES-06 ACDE-00 /062 W
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P R 071705Z APR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2731
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
CINCLANT
USCINCEUR
USLOSACLANT
USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2027

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MNUC, NPG, NATO
SUBJECT: NPG: APRIL 21 NPG PERMREP MEETING ON THE NUCLEAR BALANCE
AND CRUISE MISSILES

REF: (A) 76 USNATO 6341 (DTG 191701Z NOV 76); (B) USNATO
1725 (DTG251813Z MAR 77); (C) USNATO 1867 (DTG
311826Z MAR 77, NOTAL); (D) STATE 071617 (DTG 010047Z
APR 77, NOTAL); (E) STATE 071151 (DTG 310227Z MAR 77,
NOTAL); (F) USNATO 1496 (DTG 161728Z MAR 77);
(G) USNATO 1628(DTG 221946Z MAR 77)

SUMMARY: WE BELIEVE THAT AT THE NPG PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
MEETING ON THE NUCLEAR BALANCE, SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 21, THE
ALLIES WILL FOCUS ON CRUISE MISSILES AND MAY PROPOSE A
NATO STUDY, WHICH COULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE
US APPROACH TO SALT. WE PROPOSE THAT TO HELP DEFLECT PRESSURE FOR
SUCH A STUDY, AS WELL AS TO TRY ACCOMMODATING LEGITIMATE
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 02027 01 OF 02 071904Z

ALLIED CONCERNS, WASHINGTON SEND A HIGH LEVEL EXPERT TO
BRIEF PERMREPS ON RECENT US DEVELOPS IN CRUISE MISSILES.
WHILE THE NPG IS A MORE LIMITED PERREP FORUM, WE BELIEVE THAT
SUCH A PRESENTATION COULD USEFULLY FOCUS
ON GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILE (GLCM) CAPABILITIES,
PROVIDING A FACTUAL BASE FOR MORE POLICY-ORIENTED
DISCUSSION AT THE OTTAWA NPG MINISTERIAL IN JUNE. WE
ALSO PROPOSE A SCENARIO FOR FENDING-OFF PRESSURES FOR
A NATO STUDY OF CRUISE MISSILES. ACTION REQUESTED:
WASHINGTON GUIDANCE AS IN PARA 7 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

1. AT THE LONDON NPG MINISTERIAL MEETING, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE PROPOSED THAT PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES EXCHANGE WRITTEN VIEWS AND DISCUSS NUCLEAR BALANCE AND CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES IN PREPARATION FOR THE SPRING 1977 NPG MINISTERIAL MEETING (REF A). A PERMREP MEETING HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR THIS PURPOSE ON APRIL 21 (REF B). BASED ON THE MARCH 30 NPG STAFF GROUP MEETING (REF C), AND SUBSEQUENT INFORMAL POLLING OF DELEGATIONS, NO ALLY IS PLANNING TO CIRCULATE WRITTEN COMMENTS PRIOR TO THE MEETING. SEVERAL PERMREPS, HOWEVER, INTEND TO MAKE ORAL STATEMENTS, WHICH THEY MAY LATER CIRCULATE IN WRITING.

2. GIVEN THE INCREASING INTEREST IN CRUISE MISSILES, ESPECIALLY IN GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES (GLCM), WE EXPECT ALLIED ATTENTION TO FOCUS ON THIS ASPECT OF THE NUCLEAR BALANCE. ALSO AS A RESULT OF THE DESIRE SHOWN BY SOME ALLIES FOR A CRUISE MISSILE STUDY IN NATO (REF D AND EL, THEY MAY USE THE PERMREP MEETING TO PROPOSE SUCH A STUDY. WE CAN EXPECT ALLIES TO JUSTIFY THE NEED FOR A NATO STUDY ON THE BASIS OF THE GLCM'S OBVIOUS POTENTIAL FOR EUROPEAN BASING AND ITS POTENTIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION TO DETERRENCE.

3. SINCE THE PERMREP MEETING WAS THE RESULT OF A U.S. INITIATIVE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO TRY TO CANCEL IT. IF WASHINGTON NEEDS MORE TIME, IT MAY
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 02027 01 OF 02 071904Z

BE POSSIBLE, THOUGH CERTAINLY NOT DESIRABLE, TO ASK FOR A DELAY. IN THAT CASE, SCHEDULING COULD BE A PROBLEM BECAUSE OF THE MAY NAC AND DPC MINISTERIALS AND PREPARATORY PERMREP MEETINGS FOR THEM.

4. AS AN ALTERNATIVE, WE RECOMMEND THAT WASHINGTON OFFER TO PROVIDE A HIGH-LEVEL EXPERT WELL VERSED IN CURRENT CRUISE MISSILE DEVELOPMENTS IN ORDER TO ADVANCE THE NASCENT CRUISE MISSILE DIALOGUE BEGUN WITH ALLIES AT THE AUTUMN 1976 NPG MINISTERIAL MEETING. SINCE THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DID NOT ADDRESS GLCM'S AT LONDON, A PRESENTATION COULD FOCUS ON THIS ASPECT OF CRUISE MISSILE DEVELOPMENT IN A RELATIVELY FACTUAL MANNER, HIGHLIGHTING GLCM CAPABILITIES AND THE FACTORS RELATING TO THE RECENT US DECISION TO DEVELOP SUCH A SYSTEM. SUCH AN APPROACH COULD BETTER PREPARE ALLIES FOR MORE POLICY- AND STRATEGY-ORIENTED DISCUSSIONS AT OTTAWA: WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD BE PROVIDED WITH A SUBSTANTIAL ORAL STATEMENT PREPARED IN WASHINGTON, WHICH THE US REP COULD DELIVER AT THE APRIL 21 NPG MEETING AND LATER CIRCULATE IN WRITING.

5. WE ALSO PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING SCENARIO FOR FENDING-OFF PRESSURES FOR A NATO STUDY OF CRUISE MISSILES:

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PAGE 01 NATO 02027 02 OF 02 071848Z
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2027

A. PRIOR TO THE MEETING, WE WOULD APPROACH SYG LUNS
TO INFORM HIM THAT THE US WAS NOT YET READY TO ENGAGE
IN A NATO STUDY ON CRUISE MISSILES AND TO SEEK HIS
ASSISTANCE DURING THE MEETING IN DEFERRING SUCH A STUDY.
B. IN THE EVENT THAT THE FRG, UK, OR OTHER REPS
PRESS FOR A NATO CRUISE MISSILE STUDY, THE US REP WOULD
STATE THAT HIS AUTHORITIES ARE AT PRESENT CONSIDERING
VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES FOR CRUISE MISSILE STUDIES,
THAT WE ARE NOT YET IN A POSITION TO MAKE ANY PROPOSALS, BUT
THAT THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WOULD ADDRESS THE ISSUE AT THE NPG
MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAWA.

6. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ABOVE APPROACH MAY BUY TIME
FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF VARIOUS CRUISE MISSILE
ISSUES IN WASHINGTON, BUT ONLY UNTIL SECRETARY BROWN TAKES UP
THE SUBJECT WITH ALLIES AT OTTAWA IN THE JUNE NPG.

7. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT CRUISE MISSILES WILL
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 02027 02 OF 02 071848Z

MERIT APPROACHES IN BOTH THE NPG AND THE NAC (REF G).
IN OUR VIEW, THE NPG REMAINS AN APPROPRIATE FORUM FOR
DISCUSSION OF THE DETERRENT AND EMPLOYMENT ASPECTS OF
THESE WEAPONS, ALTHOUGH THE NAC WILL BE THE MOST
IMPORTANT LOCUS BECAUSE OF THEIR SALT IMPLICATION. IN
THIS CONNECTION, WE WOULD NOTE THAT THE NON-NPG PERMREPS,
INCLUDING FRENCH, COULD BE BRIEFED INDIVIDUALLY ON HIS PRESEN-
TATION FOR THE NPG, IF DESIRED.

IF WASHINGTON CONCURS IN THE ABOVE APPROACH, WE
RECOMMEND ANNOUNCEMENT NO LATER THAN APRIL 14 OF THE
US INTENT TO OFFER AN EXPERT BRIEFING ON CRUISE MIS-
SILES FOR THE APRIL 21 NPG PERMREP MEETING. IF WASHING-
TON DECIDES ON DEFERRAL OF THE MEETING DESPITE THE AD-
VERSE EFFECT ON ALLIES, WE WILL NEED TO KNOW THAT BY
APRIL 14 ALSO. IF WASHINGTON CHOOSES TO HAVE THE US
PERMREP DELIVER A STATEMENT PREPARED IN WASHINGTON, WE
WILL NEED BY APRIL 19 (A) THE TEXT OF THE STATEMENT AND
(B) RATIONALE FOR USE IN EXPLAINING AT THE MEETING THE
US DESIRE TO DEFER DISCUSSION OF CRUISE MISSILES AND
INITIATION OF A STUDY ON THEM. ACTION REQUESTED:
WASHINGTON GUIDANCE AS INDICATED ABOVE. STRAUSSZ-HUPE

NOTE BY OC/T: DISTRIBUTION COORDINATED WITH MR. MACFARLANE, S/S-O.

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